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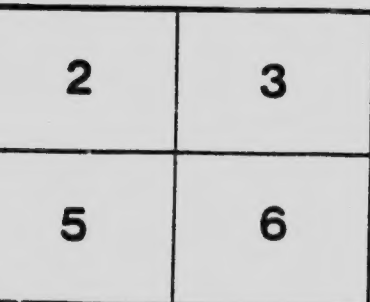
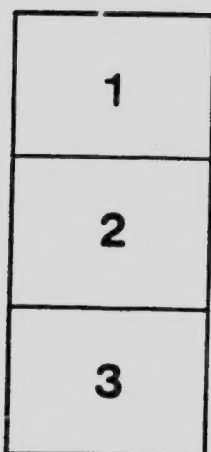
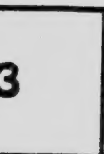
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MAY, 1917

No. 2

THE ROUND TABLE IN CANADA

A CANADIAN MOVEMENT FOR
DEMOCRATIC IMPERIALISM

"CANADA'S RELATION TO
THE EMPIRE"

*Addresses Delivered in
Convocation Hall, Toronto,
on Friday, April 27th, 1917,*

by

Sir WILLIAM HEARST	-	Premier of Ontario
N. W. ROWELL, K.C.	-	Leader of the Opposition
J. W. FLAVELLE,	Chairman of the Imperial Munitions Board	
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Offices: 84 ST. MARY ST., TORONTO

1917

Canada's Relation to the Empire

ADDRESS BY SIR WILLIAM H. HEARST.

"Sir Edmund, Ladies and Gentlemen,—The War has already solved many problems. It has made possible social and economic legislation and regulations that otherwise would have been impossible. It has changed our view-point on different subjects. Conclusions formed and judgments arrived at have had to be revised. The views and doctrines of public men and parties on some subjects, held with a tenacity that apparently nothing could shake before the war, have been completely reversed. In short, the world is being reconstructed and the relationship of nations and communities and individuals to each other changed. It is conceded on all hands that the world cannot be quite the same after the war as before. Whether or not the world will be better after the war will depend on how good students we are of the lessons that may be learned from the struggle through which we are now passing, and how far the souls of nations are stirred and quickened by the tragic days in which we are living, and how well we apply the lessons we learn and how far we carry into effect the nobler and higher impulses created in our breasts by the sacrifices, the courage and devotion of our fellow-men. Is it to be wondered at, then, that the question of some change, some rearrangement with reference to the relationship that has heretofore existed between the Mother Land and her Overseas Dominions and Colonies is creating the deepest interest among public men and citizens generally in all parts of the British Empire? It would be strange indeed if such an important and vital question did not create widespread interest and call forth earnest discussion. Not so many years ago there was a feeling in some quarters, and with men of ability and force, that the ultimate and logical destiny of Canada was annexation to the United States of America. In comparatively recent years the view was held by not a few, including men in high places, that the proper goal for Canada to aim at was complete independence. It was argued that the only course for Canada to take was at the proper time to sever her connection completely with the Motherland and work out her own destiny among the

nations of the earth; just as a son, on reaching years of maturity, with love and affection for his parents and the fondest recollection of the old homestead, sets out to make his own way in the world, entirely independent of the care that guided his course and assisted and directed him in the early days of his life. Whatever feelings, if any, existed in Canada prior to the war in favor of the courses mentioned, have been completely obliterated forever by the spirit created in the present struggle, and now no thoughtful man or woman would for a moment give support to either proposition, and I think the people of Canada would unhesitatingly agree with the statement contained in Article 1 of the Memorandum prepared by The Round Table Council of Canada, which states:

"Canada has shown her determination to preserve and strengthen the ties which now bind her to Great Britain and other portions of the British Commonwealth."

I think we may take it for granted that the second article of this Memorandum, which states:

"That effective organization of the Empire must not involve any sacrifice of responsible government in domestic affairs or the surrender of control over fiscal policy by any portion of the Empire,"

will at all events meet with the approval of and be insisted upon by the people of Canada, and, I have no doubt, by other portions of the Empire as well. It is only when we come to Article 3, which states:

"That it is an inevitable development of responsible government in the Dominions that they should assume their proportionate share in the defence of the Empire, and should have a voice in determining its relations with other States."

that there seems any room for dispute or discussion. Should we assume our proportionate share in the defence of the Empire as an obligation, or leave each section of the Empire free to act in such defence as its ability, loyalty and self-respect may dictate, as in the past? Do we want a voice in determining the relationship of the Empire to other States with all the responsibilities and consequences that such a privilege would entail?

"Should these two questions be answered in the affirmative, there of course remain the further important and difficult questions, on what basis is the obligation to be undertaken,

and how is it to be enforced? and in what manner is the voice to be given to the Dominions?

"Our friends of The Round Table, as I understand it, have decided, and I think wisely, not to discuss details now, and to confine discussion solely to the main question as to whether or not there should be a change in the relation of Canada and the other Overseas Dominions to the British Commonwealth.

"Naturally, the acceptance of the privilege would mean the assumption of the obligation. Some say that no reorganization is required, that no changes are necessary other than those that will come in the natural course of events. They point with natural pride and satisfaction to the response from every section of the Empire during the present crisis, and are able to say with satisfaction that every section of our far-flung Empire has contributed blood and treasure without stint to maintain the supremacy of the Union Jack and the Liberty of the world. They are also able to point to the fact that the obligations assumed in men and money by the different sections of the Empire have been as great as and undoubtedly greater than what would have been imposed had there been any attempt prior to the present war to fix the limit or to define the amount of the obligation resting upon each of the Dominions. The current of public opinion, however, and it appears to me the force of reason and logic as well, are against those who take this position. In fact it appears to be doubtful if we have not already passed the stage where there is room for discussion as to whether or not there should be some change in the relationship of the Dominions to the Empire as a whole.

"By the consent, and with the approval of a united Parliament, the Prime Minister of Canada is at the present time attending the Empire War Council. As a representative of Canada, he is sitting in the Executive Cabinet of the Empire, and at its meetings has equal status with the British Ministers who are members of the War Cabinet. An Imperial Cabinet has been created for the present emergency, a Cabinet of the Empire, composed of representatives from all its self-governing States. The Prime Minister, Mr. Lloyd George, in pointing out the duties and functions of the Council, said:

"The Empire War Council will deal with all general questions affecting the war. The Prime Ministers, or their representatives, will be temporary members of the War Cabinet,

and we propose to arrange that all matters of first-rate importance should be considered at a series of special meetings. Nothing affecting the Dominions, the conduct of the war, or the negotiations of peace will be excluded from its purview."

"In connection with the present Conference being held at Washington, Canada has been given a place, as of right, at that Conference. Mr. Balfour, in his interview upon landing at Halifax, said:

"I think of it as your mission as well as ours. I trust that a representative from Canada will join me in Washington."

"In the official statement given out at Ottawa with reference to this meeting, it is pointed out that: "One purpose of the Conference is to collaborate plans and co-ordinate resources, both of man power and material, which shall best effect the speedy and successful conclusion of the war. The British Mission numbers among its members two representatives of the Canadian Government—the Right Honourable Sir George Foster and the Honourable Sir Thomas White, who have been appointed by His Majesty's Government."

"The statement goes on to point out that the precedent some time since set by the British Government, of recognizing the Overseas Dominions as integral parts of the Empire, has been followed in this case; that in the Economic Conference in Paris last June, the British delegation of four comprised Lord Crewe, Mr. Bonar Law, Sir George Foster, and Premier Hughes, and further calls attention to what I have already pointed out, that at the War Conference now proceeding in London, the Overseas Dominions and India are represented, and have equal voice in Council and conclusion.

"If we accept the responsibility of taking part in the deliberations and becoming responsible for the conclusions and judgments of the British Government in war matters in all their different phases, including negotiations for peace, does it not follow that some organization must be completed, some plans devised, to give effect to the judgments arrived at with the advice and approval of representatives of Overseas Dominions?

"The Prime Ministers of the principal Overseas Dominions appear to be in accord not only in favouring a reorganization

of some kind, but in insisting that there must be such reorganization. Sir Robert Borden, before the war at all, was clear and positive in his statements that a change must take place. Speaking in the House of Commons, in December, 1912, he said:

"It has been declared in the past, and even during recent years, that responsibility for foreign policy would not be shared by Great Britain with the Dominions. In my humble opinion, adherence to such a position could have but one, and that a most disastrous result."

"And just yesterday, speaking in the heart of the Empire, he made use, as reported in the despatches, of the following language:

"We came to fight with you for the Empire because we realized our responsibilities as a nation, and perhaps in that connection it is proper for me to say I believe a very marked step has now been taken in the constitutional development of the Empire."

"To some extent, perhaps, it has proceeded not so much from design as from the course of events. I do not conceal from you my view that the constitutional development of the Empire will proceed along the path of equal nationhood, with the Mother Country as the premier nation and the other nations occupying equal status, united by a tie of common devotion and allegiance to the same Crown. I know Canada will be prepared to do everything towards accomplishing this purpose."

"Mr. Andrew Fisher, High Commissioner of the Australian Commonwealth, put his views in these words:

"If I had stayed in Scotland I should have been able to heckle my Member on questions of Imperial policy and to vote for or against him on that ground. I went to Australia. I have been Prime Minister, but all the time I have had no say whatever about Imperial Policy, no say whatever. Now, that cannot go on; there must be some change."

"The London Observer, in June last, published a communication from an Australian correspondent in connection with the visit of Premier Hughes to the Old Country, in which this correspondent made the following statement:

"He (Mr. Hughes) has preached a militant Imperialism, or, as he would probably prefer to call it, 'The Day of the

British." He has had many consultations with Ministers, with leaders of thought and with representatives of important bodies of opinion. He has been included amongst British representatives at an International Conference. But these things are no great advance on a road that must be passed quickly, the road to an organized Empire, in which the British Nations Overseas as the British Nations in the United Kingdom shall have each an appointed place. Mr. Hughes has asked for organization. The public has shouted its plaudits, but, its hands palsied by so much inaction, has "**left alone.**"

"The correspondent then goes on to point out that Sir George Foster, an experienced organizer of the Empire, and a Member of the Government of the Dominion of Canada, had a few days before declared Canada's adhesion to a policy practically identical with that of Mr. Hughes, and says:

"But even these evidences have been of really less importance than decisions private but undeniable, that the Dominions will refuse to continue a system which leaves their destinies to be decided solely and wholly by certain British institutions as they exist to-day."

Mr. Lloyd George, Prime Minister of England, in an interview relating to the War Council now sitting in England, from which I have already quoted, frankly avows the new precedent that is being established, and urges unity of action on the part of the self-governing nations within the Empire. To quote his words:

"We are fighting together through the war, and we want to stand together through the peace. In these days we cannot hesitate because we are breaking precedents. The Empire has thrown itself heart and soul into this war, and we should be failing in our duty if we did not take every step possible to see that its leaders get together from time to time. You don't suppose that we think that the overseas nations can raise and place in the field armies containing an enormous proportion of their best manhood, and not want to have a say, and a real say, in determining the use to which they are to be put. That seems to us an impossible and undemocratic proposition.

"The war is not won yet, and we want to concert our efforts so that we may exert our maximum strength at the critical moment. Further, we are most anxious that during the last and most trying phase of the war, the British Empire may present to the world an absolutely united front."

"Lord Roseberry put his view-point on this question very eloquently not long ago when he said: "They (the Overseas Dominions) have leaped into the arena of their own accord. They have fought under the Imperial Flag with a heroism that has almost surpassed that of our sons in this war. But the blood they have shed on our behalf must, in its consequences, change the constitution of the Empire. I do not care what form it is going to take. God grant that wisdom and power may be given to our statesmen in that day, whenever it may come, that the patriotism of our outer Dominions will be shown as much in those bloodless councils as it has been in the fields of the Dardanelles and Flanders."

The London Times History of the War, in commenting on the famous battle of St. Julien, where our Canadian men brought everlasting honor and glory to the name of Canada, says: "Men realized that in the final and most supreme test Canada had proved herself a nation. It was felt, and with reason, that things could never be the same again between England and Canada. The tie between them, strong before, had been deepened and strengthened by the ultimate sacrifice offered by the Dominion."

It is the supreme consecration of Canada to the Empire.

Sir Max Aitken, now Lord Beaverbrook, in his book, "Canada in Flanders," after the same battle (St. Julien) writes: "But through their (English) grief and ours runs the unbreakable pride of a race that has called itself Imperial before it knew what Empire signified, or had proved itself within its own memory by long and open-handed sacrifice. In that pride we are full partners, and through the din and confusion of battle Canada perceives how all that has gone before was but fit preparation for the destiny upon which she enters and the history which she opens from this hour."

We all believe that Canada will continue to increase rapidly in wealth and population. We are all confident that in the not distant future, just when no one can foretell with any assurance, Canada will have a population equal to the British Isles, and will exercise a very great, if not a dominating influence, in the British Empire. When that day arrives, 50 or 100 years from now, and when it would be right and equitable for Canada to bear an equal or even greater share than Great Britain in the defence of the Empire, does anyone suggest that Canada would be still content to leave the issues of

peace or war to a Parliament in which she had no representative, and to a Government over which she had no control?

In other words, when an equal or greater burden in case of war will rest on Canada than on the Motherland—is it reasonable to assume that the people of Canada will then be ready and willing to bear that burden, and continue to leave the issues of peace and war and the conduct of a war in which the existence of the whole Empire may be at stake, to Ministers over whom they have no control?

If a change should take place in the relationship of the different parts of the Empire to the Motherland before the conditions I have suggested may have arrived, can action be taken too soon to consider, at all events, what the proposed change should be? Is not now the opportune time to consider this subject, when the lessons of the war are fresh upon our minds, when time has not dulled the recollection of the perils through which we have passed, and when public men throughout the Empire are not only thinking on the subject, but seem fairly well in accord with the policy of taking some action in the matter?

Mr. Lionel Curtis, in his book, "The Problem of the Commonwealth," has this to say:

"It is idle to argue that the Dominions have done very well as they are, for the plain reason that neither they nor the world can long remain what they have been. They grew up when freedom seemed to have been firmly and finally established. They have now seen forces unloosed which have shaken it to its very foundations. Time was when their strength would have added little to the bulwarks erected against those forces. But already their numbers are equal to one-third of the British Isles. Already the child is born who will live to see Canada alone with a population larger than that of the United Kingdom. Is it seriously to be argued that the people of the Dominions, and especially those of Canada, can spend millions of money and thousands of lives in a struggle like this, and yet continue to leave the issues of peace and war to ministers over whom they have no control? The particular difficulties which alienated the American Colonies have been happily passed. Had the principles of responsible government been understood and applied in time, the secession of those Colonies need never have taken place. But had the United States remained as one of the

Dominions of the British Commonwealth, is it thinkable that those hundred millions could still be committed to peace and war by Ministers responsible only to the people of the British Isles? The question admits of but one answer, and the same answer must be applied not only to Canada but to Australia, New Zealand and South Africa. As sure as day follows the night, the time will come when they will have to assume the burden of the whole of their affairs."

In view of the opinions I have cited of leaders of thought in different sections of the Empire, that might be multiplied almost indefinitely, and in view of the general situation with which we are confronted, can there be any doubt that when the war is over we will have grave problems to settle with reference to the Empire, both political and economic, upon which will depend in no small degree not only the progress and prosperity of the British Empire, but the happiness and welfare of the people of the world? It is surely, therefore, proper and right that, even in the midst of the terrible struggle in which we are engaged, and the manifold duties that press upon us, we should try and give some thought to the study of these problems, so that we may be able, when the time arrives, to express an intelligent opinion on the subject, and that the people of this great democratic country generally may be able to give their decision in the matter after having had the facts before them and after having had time for careful thought and deliberation with respect thereto. There must be no rash haste in the matter. The winning of the war is the supreme and immediate problem of the Government and the people, and before this problem every other question sinks into insignificance. "In time of peace prepare for war" was an old adage. As a nation we overlooked it, and have paid the penalty in blood and treasure. "In time of war prepare for peace," is also an important adage that there is no excuse for our overlooking.

Next to the winning of the war, however, to my mind, one of the greatest and most important tasks before us is to see that the Empire is welded closer together. The cementing of the countries which surround the globe and form the British Commonwealth, is a magnificent task and not only in the interests of the Empire itself, but of humanity as well. The perpetuation of the great British Empire, with all its glory, its history and its greatness, stands for the liberty of the world and the

betterment of mankind. No such opportunity will ever again present itself for a better and closer organization of all the different sections of the Empire. The best and bravest from Canada, from Australia, New Zealand and South Africa lie side by side on the bloody fields of France and Flanders with the best and bravest of the Old Land. They died for what? For liberty, for freedom, for civilization; and a common bond, that of suffering, that of sacrifice, that of devotion to a great cause, binds the Empire more firmly than ever before; but we must see to it that advantage is taken of the situation thus created, and no room left for doubt that Britain and her Overseas Dominions shall go on through the ages as one people, as a united family."

ADDRESS BY N. W. ROWELL, K.C.

Sir William, Sir Edmund, Ladies and Gentlemen,—Any question affecting an Empire which covers so large a portion of the earth's surface as does ours, and which has a population living within its borders of more than one-quarter of the whole human race, must be a matter of very deep concern not only to the citizens of the Empire, and every portion of it, but to all peoples in civilized countries interested in the welfare of our common humanity.

"The subject, therefore, we are called upon to consider to-night is one calling for the very best thought of all the people of our country. And I am glad that in any discussion of the subject which we have to-night—and I hope in the discussion of the subject throughout the country—it may be taken up with the calmness, with the seriousness which the subject deserves, and freed from any partizan bitterness which will prevent a fair consideration of the whole matter at issue.

"When the war broke out, and in the early stages of the war, it was suggested that one of the pressing, and then most pressing and urgent problems, was the reorganization of the Empire, because, it was suggested, while the various dominions of the Empire had come forward at this time and had voluntarily contributed of their men and their money in the Empire's cause, we could not be expected to do so in the future unless we had an actual voice in determining the issues of peace and war. I then, and on more than one occasion, said—and I have not seen any reason since to change my mind—that our first duty

was to save the Empire before we attempted to reorganize it; that if we do not save it the Germans would reorganize it for us; that if we did save it, and secured complete and final victory, we could reorganize it at our leisure.

The question, however, in view of the declarations of Imperial statesmen, is one which we must commence to consider. You will recall that before the change of government in Great Britain, Mr. Asquith, the Prime Minister, speaking for the then Coalition Government, stated that one of the most important questions which the people of the Empire would be called upon to consider after the war, and to which the Imperial Government would give its attention, was the question of the organization of the Empire growing out of the share which the Dominions had taken in the struggle. And at the same time, or shortly after that, and also since he has become Prime Minister himself, Mr. Lloyd George has made a similar declaration.

"We, therefore, have this issue squarely before us, that the statesmen in Great Britain intimate that shortly after the war is over a Conference of representatives of all portions of the Empire will be called together to frankly talk over and consider the question of the relations of the Dominions to the Empire and the future government of the Empire.

"In view of these statements, I made it part of my duty last summer, when I had the opportunity of visiting Great Britain, to endeavor to ascertain the conditions of public opinion in Great Britain in reference to this important matter. And I thought, perhaps, it would not be without interest at this meeting to give you some of the impressions I gathered on that occasion.

"I found in Great Britain there was a very deep and widespread interest in this question; much deeper and much more widespread than in Canada. I took advantage of what opportunity I had of meeting men of both political parties, of all political parties, not only the historic parties, the Liberal and Conservative, but also the leaders of the Labor party, to discuss the matter with them. And I found in men of all parties, of all shades of opinion, a very deep interest in the question. And they were all giving some thought at least, many of them a good deal of thought, to the solution of the problem in the future. I discussed it with many newspaper men, of all shades of political opinion, in

London and in the Provinces; as well as business men in these different sections of the country and up in Scotland. In fact, I made it a special point of my visit over there to endeavor to ascertain what the informed public opinion of Great Britain was on this question.

"I was interested to find this, that there was a noticeable difference of opinion in London and in the Provinces. In fact, the men up in Yorkshire and in what they call the Provinces of Great Britain were not willing to admit that London opinion was the determining factor in British politics. And I found this: I found the opinion of the Provinces was not nearly as strongly in favor of some central Imperial organization as was the opinion in London. And I found the opinion in the Provinces was much more in favor of a more elastic system of carrying on the affairs of the Empire than many men in London thought would be desirable. I found also this opinion prevailing. They appear to think in Great Britain that the peoples of the Dominions were generally dissatisfied with the present arrangement. They thought the people of the Dominions were demanding a change. More than one said to me: While you have helped us in this war, you would not do it again unless you were given a larger voice in the issues of peace and war. And, may I pause to say here what I said to them, and said once in speaking in public there: That whatever my views may be on Imperial organization, I beg to wholly dissent from that proposition. We went into this war because of ideals and not because of organization. We went into this war because there is something in our heart that responds to the heart-beat of the people in the Motherland in such a struggle as that in which they are now engaged. And I said to the people of Britain, if the thing happens over again we will do exactly the same, only we will do it better and we will do it more efficiently because of the experience we have had in this struggle.

"I found they also entertained very strongly the view that any suggestion of change in the form of Imperial organization should come from the Dominions and not from the Mother Country. They said: If you desire changes, let us know the form that you desire them to take. And I think this fairly expresses the view of all shades of opinion, that practically anything the Dominions should ask in the way of change—that is, within reason—the people of the Mother Country would be pleased to grant. In fact some men went so far with me as to

say: There is not anything the Dominions could ask that the people of the Mother Country would not and should not grant. But I found up in the Provinces that the men were a little more cautious, and they would not subscribe to those, as they called them, rash statements of statesmen down in London. The men up in the Provinces wanted to know what the proposals were before they would give their assent to them and say they would act upon them.

"I found also, Mr. Chairman, that while this was the general pervading spirit throughout the country, a very few men in Great Britain had any very definite idea as to what form the constitutional change should take. There were some who had very definite ideas, but speaking of the mass of men with whom I had the opportunity of discussing the question, I would say that the great majority had no very clear-cut or definite idea.

"Then here is another aspect of it which we would do well to keep in mind, and which accidentally came up in discussing the matter over there. It is not a question of the particular change we in Canada might desire to see, if we desired any between Canada and Britain. We must recognize that at present we are a great group of free, self-governing nations, united, owing allegiance to a common King. Any radical change involves the consent of the people of Australia, of New Zealand, of South Africa, as well as the people of Canada and the Mother Country. And therefore, moving along these lines, if we contemplate any change, we must have regard to the condition of sentiment in all these other portions of the Empire.

"Then when I was over there—and shortly before I went over—the question of the Irish Settlement came up, and on the very day I arrived in London the Prime Minister made his famous statement in the House of Commons, announcing the settlement of the Irish question, and the terms of the temporary settlement. And in that announcement it was stated, or suggested, that later there would be an Imperial Conference, at which the matter might be considered. Now, frankly, I think the statesmen of the Mother Country recognize, and I think properly recognize, that they must work out some satisfactory solution of that Irish question before they could reasonably expect to have a radical change in the Imperial organization. And I think that is the situation which they are now facing.

"And, perhaps, as this is an occasion where we are supposed to express our frank and honest opinions, and the first

occasion in which I have undertaken to discuss this question in public, I will trouble you for a minute to read a brief extract of a letter I wrote to one of the members of the Government on this very question, when it appeared as if the Irish Settlement might fall through:

“As the Irish Settlement has been coupled up with an Imperial Conference to consider the organization of the Empire, will you pardon my dropping you a line on the matter before I leave for France.

“I heard yesterday that the opposition to the settlement already approved by Mr. Redmond and Sir Edward Carson, has developed serious proportions, and that the situation is somewhat critical. I hope my information is quite incorrect, that the settlement, as embodied in the memorandum of Mr. Lloyd George, and already approved, will go through without difficulty.

“One point to which I feel it is my duty to draw your attention is (Let me say, in passing, with this Minister I had frequently discussed the question of Imperial organization.):

“If a settlement of this difficult question, in a manner already approved and agreed to by the leaders of the different parties in Ireland and sanctioned by the Imperial Government, is to be upset or defeated or seriously modified by an irreconcilable minority in the Imperial Parliament, will it not be notice to all the Dominions that in matters of vital concern to them, where all parties are agreed on the method of solution, their views may be over-ridden and some other policy forced upon them by a powerful influence centred in Great Britain, particularly if these influences emanate from hereditary legislators? At present the Dominions have little to fear on this score, because of the practical freedom of action which they now enjoy.

“If, however, this Irish Settlement is upset, do you not think it will seriously affect any proposals which may come before the Imperial Conference, in favor of a closer union which might increase the influence in the affairs of the Dominion of those, however sincere they may be, who conceived it right to oppose the united action of the Irish leaders?”

“I need not trouble you with the letter further. It expressed at that time the views I had then entertained. I have

seen no reason since to modify it. I think the statesmen of Great Britain must display sufficient statesmanship to solve the Irish problem before we would be justified in putting our destiny in larger measure in their hands.

"Another question which gave great concern there, was the question of the relation of India to the whole problem. My friend, Mr. Lash, has rendered a valuable service in the discussion he has made of this question and the endeavor he has made to deal with the Indian aspect of the problem. Perhaps I am going too much into detail. There is no question in public life I have given more thought to in the past ten or fifteen years than this. It is one in which I have taken a profound interest, and perhaps you will excuse me if I touch on some of these points which seem very vital in the whole consideration of the problem.

"The situation of India is vital in the whole question. Now, as to the solution suggested by Mr. Curtis—for Mr. Curtis personally I have a most profound respect and admiration because of his ability and public spirit. He suggests two possible solutions, and thinks there are only two. That is, a central Imperial organization; or, on the other hand, the independence of the Dominions. And in the central Imperial organization he thinks India could not be given representation, but that she should be under the dominion, under the government, so to speak, of this new Imperial organization.

"Now, I discussed that question with leading statesmen in Great Britain entirely familiar with the problem in India. And I found but one answer. I discussed it with Indian statesmen, and I found but one answer: India would never voluntarily consent to be a dependency of an Imperial Parliament composed of Great Britain and the Dominions. And the answer was this, obviously: The Dominions will not admit our citizens, though they are British subjects. Do you think that we will willingly be a dependency of Dominions that won't recognize our citizenship?

"Now, there were some statesmen in Great Britain who said frankly: We see the difficulty, but we would take the chance with India, and go ahead. But I found much more cautious statesmen did not entertain any such views. They said: We cannot go ahead until we reach some solution of the problem, so far as India is concerned. And an effort is now

being made by the Resolution you saw cabled out here the other day to give recognition to India in the Imperial Conference.

"I am getting a little ahead of my story; I will come back to that in a second. I must hurry on, for my time is nearly up.

"Whatever the difficulties may be, there are certain propositions upon which, I think, we can all agree. Never have the people of Great Britain given so noble an expression of the spirit of service and sacrifice for the cause of liberty and humanity as they have given in this war. And never have the men of the Dominions had such just reason for pride in their British citizenship as they have at this hour. Never has the spirit of unity throughout our whole Empire been so strongly manifested as during this war. And never has it received such a magnificent expression. Never has the determination of the people of the Dominions been so resolute as at this hour that the unity which has been so manifested in this war shall be maintained for all time to come. On that we are absolutely agreed.

"The only question, and the important question, is, what is the best method for preserving and developing that spirit of unity? This war has shown how wide and deep and impassable is the chasm that exists between the ideals and objectives of Prussian militarism and the ideals and objectives of any free democracy the world over. Until this war we did not believe it possible that the chasm was wide and deep between any of the civilized nations of the world. But this war has also taught us this: that deep and wide as may be that chasm, after all, our humanity is essentially one. No one member of the family of nations can suffer without all the other members suffering also. If the murder of a Prince of Austria in the Balkans can take our men from the factory and the farm, and our nurses from our hospitals, the brain and brawn of our country by the hundreds and the thousands, to give their lives on the battlefields of Europe, does it not show us at once how unified is our humanity, and that each people is a part of the great whole and vitally interested in the future of the whole human race? This war has shown us that the policy of national isolation is impossible for the future. In fact, the horrors of this war have disclosed to us, I think, that modern science has enabled man to develop such instruments for destroying his fellow-man that when this war is over, humanity, as a matter of self-defence, must get together and by a league of demo-

cratic nations resolve this thing shall not come again. And in that league of democratic nations this young country, which has played her part in the war, must play a part worthy of herself.

"How shall we do it? That is the problem. And it is a big one and a difficult one. Let us frankly face it. I have not come here to-night to provide a solution for it. As I understand, the object is to encourage us to study it. But, that being the object, I want to suggest another line. With that I close—another line from the lines already suggested in the book of Mr. Curtis.

"He has suggested two possibilities—the one of independence. I heartily agree with the Prime Minister. I think independence and annexation were ruled out before the war. They are certainly ruled out since the war. Mr. Curtis' other suggestion is an Imperial organization having effective power. He says taxation is indispensable. If you carry his reasoning to its logical conclusion, that Parliament must have power not only of taxation, but of conscription. That is the logical development of his ideas. I am not sure I see any evidence in public opinion in any of the Dominions, following the journals as well as I can, that they are prepared at the present time for that. And when we think of other things being impossible, that there are only two alternatives—I do not believe we are shut up to any two alternatives; I believe there are other options.

"And I recall a historical parallel. In the struggle for responsible government in this country, when the proposal was made in the Parliament of Great Britain that responsible government should be given to the Dominion, the Colonial Secretary at that time denounced the idea as utterly impossible. He said it was inconsistent with the colonial relation. There were only two things: either the colony must be governed or it must be independent. And he denounced Baldwin and Lafontaine as disturbers of the public peace and vagabonds and other things, because they were seeking to do this which he said would lead to independence. And that idea was shared by a great many people, and honestly shared in Canada, shared by political leaders on both sides in Great Britain. They said they were shut up to two things, either government by governor or independence. Fortunately for Canada and for the Empire, their view did not prevail. Responsible government was granted. And Prof. Leacock, in his History of Baldwin and Lafontaine, tells us that to-day it is the corner-stone of the British Empire.

And great British statesmen, speaking before the British Association for the Advancement of Science, said that the people have made two discoveries in the science of government which have revolutionized the conditions of the modern world. One of those discoveries is the principle of representation; the other discovery, colonial self-government. And Canada made that great and invaluable contribution to the science of government in Great Britain, which all the other Dominions have followed. Because it was made, we are a united Empire to-day; and without it, we would have been a severed one.

"When men tell me there are only two alternatives, I point to that case and say there was the other, and the other saved Canada to the Empire; and Canada would have gone the way of the United States had it not been adopted.

"Now, a third was suggested a few years ago by that distinguished statesman of Great Britain who has now received such a splendid welcome in the United States as the representative of Great Britain at the Conference at Washington—the Right Honourable Arthur J. Balfour. Speaking at the Constitutional Club in the year 1911, he made this suggestion: "I cannot help thinking that as we have now thoroughly realized in every one of these great communities that each is to manage its own affairs—carry out its own life, make its own experiments as freely as if it were an independent political entity—as that is a truth thoroughly understood by every politician of every party in every one of those several communities—I cannot help thinking that upon that solid basis we shall build up something which the world has never yet seen, which political dreamers in the past have never yet dreamed of—a coalition of free and self-governing communities, who feel they are never more themselves, never more masters of their own fate, than when they recognize that they are parts of a greater whole, from which they can draw inspiration and strength; and that each lives its own life and is most itself when it feels itself in the fullest sense a self-governing entity which yet has the larger whole to look to, whose interests are not alien to it, on whom it can rest in time of trouble, from whom it can draw experience, to whom it can look, whom it can aid, and from whom it can receive aid."

"In other words, a principle of co-operation rather than centralization is the one suggested by Mr. Balfour in that important statement.

"The Prime Minister has very properly said that conditions are changing now. We are undergoing a change. I do not know that we have fully appreciated the significance of the change mentioned by Sir William Hearst, that the Prime Ministers of Canada and of the other Dominions have been sitting as members of the Imperial Cabinet. And as the News the other evening very truly pointed out, that is an important and fundamental change in our relationship to the Mother Country. We are coming into direct consultation with reference to foreign policies and in reference to peace and war. I believe that will go on; we will continue to draw closer together. But whatever the form it may take and whatever honest difference of opinion there may be about the form of this, I am convinced that the people of Canada are one with the people of Great Britain and the other Dominions in the great fundamental conceptions of free democratic government, in the great fundamental conceptions of human liberty, in the great fundamental conceptions as to the future welfare of our humanity not only under our flag but under the flags of the other nations as well. Being one with them in these great fundamental ideas, we are determined to work with them, to co-operate with them. We believe the brains of the statesmen of the Empire will be equal to working out a solution of the problem which will make co-operation practicable to the satisfaction of all portions of the Empire

ADDRESS BY J. W. FLAVELLE.

Sir Edmund, Sir William, Ladies and Gentlemen,—I hardly know what explanation to make concerning what I have to say. It has never been my pleasure to be a member of The Round Table, although greatly indebted to many members of The Round Table in more ways than one.

"I was not asked what I would say to-night; I have not told anybody what I would say. And so if I differ from some of the statements, either of the Chairman or of my friend, Mr. Rowell, I must take the responsibility clearly upon myself.

"It will be agreed that there is a widespread feeling in the Overseas Dominions and in Great Britain and Ireland that our mutual relations within the Empire must undergo a change in the reconstruction period following the war. There will not be the same agreement as to what the changes should be. We all know there are wide differences of opinion as to what should

be done, as there well may be in a matter of such grave importance. There is an important body of opinion which is unsettled rather than unformed, and which is discovering itself at least to this extent: that it is inquiring what the problem is, and what are the suggested alternatives for its solution.

“Permit me to ask, have you reached a fair belief that the Empire should continue? Do you consider it as a life which is so vital as a civilizing force that you refuse to contemplate the world being deprived of its benefits? Does it represent to you power and usefulness and efficient, unselfish service, and have you grown into a conviction that it possesses such abiding value to those who are within it and to the world outside, that its members should perpetuate it in an indissoluble union? Or have you thought of it as something that only may continue; that it is probably a passing development which will naturally break up into constituent parts later, and that the possibility of such a result does not disturb you? Do you consider an autonomous Canada within the Empire our destiny? Or do you think the destiny of Canada ultimately is independence or that measure of independence in which we will take care of ourselves, untrammelled by definite obligations to others, exercised through choice as to our actions in foreign affairs? Many among us have not thought it necessary to ask these questions. We do not desire to face the alternative or to be forced into these positions. And yet I believe that you have here the marrow of the matter. The due determination, which may shortly be reached in the councils of these nations, will determine, I believe, consciously or unconsciously, whether this Commonwealth will abide. Therefore, it seems to me, we should give diligence to the enquiry.

“Is this Empire worth saving as a permanent force in human affairs? This thing which we call Empire or Commonwealth; this connection of Great Britain and the Overseas Dominions, the standard of British fair play and liberty and justice, which have come to us through these associations, had grown to mean so much to us that when the call came, in 1914, we did not stop to reason, or argue, or question, or ask what others would do, but instinctively, unhesitatingly, spontaneously, in common with all the other members of this family of nations, we offered to supply men and materials and money. In common with all other, we have undertaken the burden ungrudgingly,

which, if we had been asked before to see if we could or we would bear, we would have answered impossible.

"In the doing of these things we have discovered we are doing them chiefly not to help England, much as she has deserved our help, but in response to a deep instinct which called on us to play our part in defence of the right as we had learned it during this century of association with other Dominions and Great Britain. And we found that we have traveled a much longer way in idealism than we had realized.

"Is this instinct to bear the burdens of others natural to intense nationalism, or is it the outcome of the development which we call materialism? We have thought, some of us, that nationalism in our French-Canadian compatriots is what has beclouded their vision to a call to duty wider than domestic considerations. Is there a call to some of us who find fault with the French-Canadians? Be careful we are not possessed of the same spirit, though differing in expression. Is not this British conception of a Commonwealth founded upon liberty and justness and the bearing of responsibility and the fulfilling of duty, instinctively undertaking burdens for others, as well as instinctively taking care of itself, the thing which will keep alive the soul of this rapidly developing nation which is growing rich in material things?

"Can we explain the part Canada, Australia, New Zealand, South Africa, Newfoundland, the Isles of the sea, India, have taken in this war upon any other hypothesis? We could gain no lands and receive no indemnity. And yet, with pride, we have sacrificed the flower of our young manhood, incurred a national debt of staggering proportions. And the call of our people is not, Do less, but Do more.

"It is the knowledge we have played a man's part and have borne a man's burdens, and have not been afraid to die for a great cause, which has brought to us a new consciousness.

"And we say, as do other Overseas nations, we must share in counsel, we must share in responsibility, and claim the right of full citizenship to shape the policy out of which responsibility grows. If we are to fight and spend and be spent, we must discover a means whereby, both as to the cause for which we fight and the cost of the undertaking, we share responsibility with those with whom we are associated.

"I believe we have not faced the situation when we say, let well enough alone; our relations have served us heretofore;

why bother with them now? Does anyone suppose that those nations which have shared in this struggle will rest content to have House of Parliament representing only people in Great Britain determine for us these matters of peace and war and our relations with other people? I cannot but think that the men who say this say it not so much from conviction, based upon consideration of present conditions, as from fear that if the problem is clearly and resolutely faced, conclusions may be reached which may make necessary the recasting of views which they have long held.

"After Lloyd George returned from the Allied Conference at Rome, he said: "There was one thing that struck me, and that strikes me more and more each time I attend these conferences and visit the Continent—I mean the increasing extent to which the Allied people are looking to Great Britain. They are trusting her rugged strength and great resources more and more. She is to them like a great tower in the deep. She is becoming more and more the hope of the oppressed and the despair of the oppressor. And I feel confident that we shall not fail the people who have put their trust in us."

"Here is the way in which an American is impressed with our efforts towards Imperial unity. George Burton Adams, writing of Imperial Federation After the War, in the Yale Review, states: "From a distance, we can see, and, because of our distance, with good right we may judge, that these are high attempts, as lofty political conceptions as any which mankind has yet tried to make real, with hope of success. We can see, also, that if success is reached in this endeavor, there will have been achieved the utmost which is possible to present conditions in the realization, security and extension of liberty for all the world. For these are the objects of this attempt. The future student of this age will be sure that one of the most striking changes of the last hundred years has been the awakening of the political conscience of the Anglo-Saxon race. It has come to see with constantly increasing clearness that Empire has no right to be as mere dominion, or power, or exploitation, but that its only defence is to be found in the bearing of responsibility and the fulfilling of duty; that Empire is a method of holding liberty and the institutions of self-government in trust until the destined heirs of the inheritance reach their majority."

"I go back to an older prophet. I venture to think the quotation is not inappropriate: "Art thou he that should come, or do we look for another?" was the impassioned question sent by the man of the desert who chafed in prison. "Go and shew John again," came the reply, "those things which ye do hear and see; the blind receive their sight, and the lame walk, the lepers are cleansed, and the deaf hear, the dead are raised up, and the poor have the Gospel preached to them." May I present, in contrast, the vainglorious standards of extreme nationalism? "Ye have heard how in old times it was said: Blessed are the meek, for they shall inherit the earth; but I say unto you: Blessed are the valiant, for they shall make the earth their throne. And ye have heard men say: Blessed are the poor in spirit; but I say unto you: Blessed are the great in soul and free in spirit, they shall enter into Valhalla. And ye have heard men say: Blessed are the peacemakers; but I say unto you: Blessed are the war-makers, for they shall be called, if not the children of Yaweh, the children of Odin, who is greater than Yaweh." And would you see the fruitage, go to ravaged Belgium and stricken Northern France, or desolate, thrice-desolate Poland, or crushed Serbia.

"We occupy great areas of land with men and women of every nation; we will vie with the world in growing wheat and cattle; we build railways; establish great industrial activities, and we grow rich in this world's goods; we build churches and schools and universities and libraries. In the doing, let us be careful to hold to the substance and have the root of the matter in us.

"There is sound wisdom in the warning to this young nation, so wonderful in its possibilities: 'What shall it profit a man if he gain the whole world and lose his own soul?' It is this view of Empire, of the Commonwealth, which attracts me. Not dominion, or power, or exploitation, but the bearing of responsibility and the fulfilling of duty. To me there is no limitation of our national greatness and importance, but rather an open door to service, which will enable us to share in the world's burdens and the world's conferences.

"In consideration of the future, we will reach a determination whether we are to adopt a policy of co-operation, which the constituent nations within the Empire will voluntarily exercise when a crisis occurs, or whether we are to adopt a policy

in which each nation will retain full autonomy in all matters of domestic concern, but will be bound with other similar autonomous bodies, including Great Britain and Ireland, in the determination of our relations with the world outside the Commonwealth.

"It is to me relatively a matter of not much consequence how far we may elect to go in either course at the moment. We will probably choose the wise course and make haste slowly. What does matter, I venture to say, is whether the choice favors a policy or a tendency to voluntary co-operation, or a policy or tendency to co-operation in federation.

"The time at my disposal would not permit me to reason the case. I can but state the conviction, which, I believe, must be reached by careful enquiries, that a policy of voluntary co-operation within the Empire means separation. There would doubtless be many years of continued connection and harmonious association. And after the tie was broken co-operative conditions would frequently recur.

"The fact is, voluntary co-operation is a contradiction of terms. You cannot have co-operation of those who are to co-operate if those who are to co-operate are at liberty to share or refuse to share, as they may determine from time to time, as the circumstances set up. The inevitable result of a relationship in which members would only support one another when they elected to do so is that the relationship as a vital force must cease. To those who say: What of it if it does? It will be the result of our own choice, and why hamper it? I will only remark that I believe the spiritual power which these Empire relations have brought to us, and which will deepen as the overseas Dominions and Great Britain draw closer together, is the power which will make Canada great in world affairs, and will help to preserve her from selfish insularity and self-centred nationalism, "And Lot lifted up his eyes, and beheld all the plain of Jordan, that it was well watered everywhere. So Lot chose him all the plain of Jordan and Lot journeyed east; they separated themselves the one from the other. Abraham dwelled in the land of Canaan, and Lot dwelled in the cities of the plain and pitched his tent towards Sodom." If we have federation can we preserve our autonomy and develop what we term national spirit, and yet give consistent allegiance to the Commonwealth in which we are sharers? If we cannot, I want none

of it. Yield no jot or tittle of our autonomy in domestic affairs to any power. But why should we lose autonomy or sound national spirit through federation? Would we not have all the power we now possess, plus the power of sharing in the responsibility and councils or world powers, in the family of nations bound in federation? Would you claim that the experience of the last two and a half years would show that living within the Empire we are wanting in national spirit in Canada, in contrast to national spirit in the United States, which is a great English-speaking community without the Empire? Under present conditions, we have the obligations incident to domestic autonomy, but we have also the obligations incident to membership in the Empire. The blood of our sons in France and Flanders and the treasures expended tell how momentous are the decisions which laid these burdens upon us, yet concerning which we have no voice or part in the circumstances leading up to the decisions.

"You ask, What sort of representation would we have? You say, We would be smothered by Great Britain. But why say this? The representative body, be it parliament or council, would not be Great Britain's, but ours. And in the "ours" are Great Britain and Ireland and Canada and Australia and New Zealand and South Africa, and who knows what others. Do we in Ontario, within this Dominion, say, "We will not be represented in the Parliament at Ottawa because we are in the minority"? When our members go to Ottawa they do not vote as men from Ontario; they divide, and some join with one group from the other Provinces, and some with another group. And whichever of these groups preponderate in numbers, their opinion holds and governs. If we federate we will not divide as to countries but as to policies. Representatives of Canada would differ from one another as would representatives from the other Dominions of Great Britain. These would form groups, and the determination of the majority would be defined by policy and not by country. Would we let this central parliament and council collect money from us? Why not? The parliament or council which would make the claim would be ours. We must rid our minds of the idea that the central parliament or council, under federation, would be an outside body. It would be ours as much as Great Britain's, as the Parliament in Great Britain is as much as Prince Edward Island's, with its four members, as it is Ontario's, with its 86 members.

"If federation comes—if that be in the future I know not—the personnel of the membership of the Imperial Parliament from Canada should not ultimately be determined by the Parliament of Canada, whatever may be the earlier steps, but membership should rest on the choice of the people of Canada, determined by their votes. For these world affairs, for which we should bear responsibility, are not to be determined by men chosen in some privileged manner. They must represent the people whose choice they are, and thus give to all our people the refining and broadening influence of direct contact and interest with these world affairs. And I am radical enough to say: Better have a poor choice, for which the people are responsible, than a good choice selected by privilege.

"And I would venture to just differ with my good friend, also, in his excellent book, to this extent: I covet for myself and the people of this country the opportunity, the refining influence of thinking about India and Egypt, and being responsible for India and Egypt. I do not like the suggestion of my friend who says that that might be very well left to the Imperial Government in England, as it is now, because they have had experience. It is the very thing in federation, if it comes, that I covet for these people who will become so material because of the very greatly increasing life of the country.

"If federation comes, the struggle and sacrifice, in my judgment, will have been Great Britain's, not the Overseas Dominions'. Great Britain would have to surrender what she now possesses—supreme control. The Overseas Dominions would be gainers, holding all they now possess, and, in addition, securing representation, ever increasing in numbers, in a Parliament which would inherit all the noble traditions of the British Parliament, and which would be charged with the duty of interpreting in our relations with other nations those principles of justice and liberty and service which are the pride and honor of our race.

"I ask you: Is this not worth while? Will we run away from the problem because its solution presents difficulty? Or will we, with good courage, take it up and live with it until we understand all its bearings?"

ADDRESS BY PROFESSOR COLBY.

Sir Edmund Walker, Ladies and Gentlemen,—“In these days of tragedy and heroism, of bitter ordeal and vital decision, there is one thing which stands out above and beyond

everything else. It is the heritage of deathless deeds which has been bequeathed to us by the fighting men of Canada; by those who, in the trench and beyond the parapet, have purchased the renown of their country through the sacrifice of their lives. No human being can realize, save in the most imperfect way, what the war means, for our conscience has been so largely numbed by this overwhelming succession of spontaneous events. Yet, with all the limitations which nature places upon us, we do recognize that Canada has been exalted as never before by this band of heroes.

"It need not be argued that the sacrifices, the sufferings and the death of our soldiers exact from us some effort which, however partial and incomplete, shall be conceded in a spirit of chivalrous emulation. Such a spirit may express itself, and is expressing itself, in many ways: in the gift of money, in personal service on behalf of the various patriotic organizations, in the various forms of self-denial which are suggested by a sincere desire to help forward the prosecution of the war. Men, munitions and money—these are the great outstanding needs as they have recently been expounded to us in Montreal by Sir Thomas White. But a quickened conscience alone can tell us in how many ways we can reveal the spirit which has been kindled in us by the supreme sacrifice of these, our brothers, who have fallen in battle on behalf of our cause and for our protection. Doubtless it is difficult to equate these moral obligations which are thrust upon us by a sense of honor, or, rather, our own instinct of common decency. Among so many fresh duties, competing, as they must, with existing duties, which shall come first, which are imperative?

"Now, in point of detail, in point of degree, no one can answer this question for his neighbor; but consciously or subconsciously, should we not be asking ourselves at this time: What is my duty as a citizen? Have I even tried to find out what it is, in concrete and practical terms, under the changed conditions which have been created by the war? It is, of course, very easy to be complacent and to take intellectual opiates. But, if the war at its present stage brings us up against anything, it is against this problem of citizenship. They are saying in France that to sign a peace which would not give back Alsace-Lorraine would be to dishonor the dead. We in Canada do not desire any increase in territory, but do we not dishonor our dead unless we are willing to give our best thought to the solution of the political problems which now

beset us? Let me express what I mean in this way: President Hibben of Princeton, early in this year, stated—this was before the United States declared war—that in his sober judgment 1917 will be a more crucial year for the United States than 1775 or 1861. And this is a saying which, in its broad significance, we can apply to our own situation. There is no touch of exaggeration in stating that to-day we face a crisis more acute than that which, 50 years ago, was confronted by the disjointed fragments of British North America. It is not only that the scale of things is so much larger now than it was at the time of Confederation. There is a further difference—a complete and categorical difference—between the situation 50 years ago and that which exists to-day. Then Canada was very far from the centre of things. We had not at that time been drawn into the main course of the world's action. With our national resources almost untouched, with a very incomplete system of transportation, with Edmonton further from Toronto than Sydney and Melbourne are to-day, we lay, so far as the affairs of the world at large were concerned, in a political backwater. This is the case no longer. We are now launched on the strong, irresistible current of international progress, and it matters much that we should see where we are going, or, at least, that we should try to see. The time has gone by when we can safely trust to fate in a bark canoe fit for intercourse on the streams and smaller lakes of Ontario; our national fate and fortune are now embarked on a great ironclad, which bears us down the St. Lawrence and out in the ocean of world problems, world duties, world opportunities. Those who possess the touch of greatness, and who, therefore, do not shrink from responsibility, will welcome this change, or, at least, may welcome this change.

“But whether we like it or not, it has come and we must adapt ourselves to it as to something which is not less inevitable than the process of the seasons or any other law of nature. By the swift and marvellous progress of science, the world has been narrowed during the past 100 years as it had not been narrowed in the whole course of preceding centuries, going back, if you like, to the stone age. The consequences of such a universal transformation we cannot escape. The time when we could beguile ourselves with the thought that our destiny was going to be what was principally that of other and less fortunate people who have inherited this planet.

“As we entered the third quarter of our 100 years of peace with the United States, it seemed incredible that we could ever

be called upon to fight our neighbors, who share with us the English speech and the British love of freedom. And wherever the States of Continental Europe, kept at arm's length by British Flag, by the Atlantic, and Monroe Doctrine—I hasten to say in the most distinct terms that never have the Canadian people sought refuge behind the Monroe Doctrine; but it is none the less true that as recently as 25 years ago, the Atlantic Ocean, plus the Munroe Doctrine, seemed to form a natural barrier against any disturbance of the *status quo* on this Continent. But were we at the present moment to rely upon any such alleged securities, we should be in much the same position as Belgium if she again trusted for her security to the pledged word of a Hohenzollern. In short, we should be taking such foolhardy risks as no farsighted, self-respecting people could possibly bring themselves to take.

“One aspect of this matter was picturesquely stated a few weeks ago in Montreal by Sir Sam Hughes, when he addressed the Junior Bar of that City. “Some people,” he said, “maintain that we should only fight when our country is invaded at its frontiers. For myself, I cannot see it that way. I think,” he continued, “that in France and Flanders we are fighting for the defence of Canada just as much as if we were fighting for it on the edge of the Gaspé Peninsula. For, if it were not for two dozen big ships of the British navy, the Germans would be over here and then you people of Montreal could do one of two things! You could either run to the top of your mountain, or, if it pleased you better, you could take to the woods.” I make a very poor echo of Sir Sam Hughes; but that is what he says. There you have one phase of the situation—present phase, military phase—a phase which has been created by Pan-Germanism. But do not let us assume that after the war is over everything is to be for the best in the best of all possible worlds. Pan-Germanism, we all believe, will be done for. In fact, with respectful reverence to Sir Douglas Haig, we may say that Pan-Germanism will be scotched. But that happy and well-merited conclusion of this war will not usher in the millenium. If some league to enforce peace is created, and if its efforts are crowned with success, that will be so much to the good. And from no quarter will come a more vigorous and sincere co-operation than from Canada. But the fact that a man has a speculative expectation of some day becoming rich is no good reason that meanwhile he should not take steps to earn his daily bread.

"Apropos of President Wilson's address to Congress last December, a friend said to me that, in his judgment, it could all be boiled down into a single brief sentence: We American people believe in the millenium, and when it comes we are prepared to back it up by force. Fortunately, both President and Congress are now convinced that it is undesirable to wait for the millenium to happen automatically. In fact, nothing worth while in human affairs ever does happen automatically. We all have to work and fight for anything worth while. And we Canadians ought now to recognize that from this time forward we must be prepared to defend ourselves in the enjoyment of those blessings which nature and history have bestowed upon us in such abundance. To say this, is not to speak aggressively; it is only to recognize new conditions which have been created by the narrowing of the world. At a time like this it is mere self-deceit to face the future as though the revolutionary changes of the past 25 years had not taken place. Alike in science and in politics, there has been a profound transformation, and we now stand face to face with the readjustments which have been made necessary by the change in world conditions at large, even more than by the events of the great war. In fact, the great war itself is largely the product of these agencies; these agencies which, by bringing continents and hemispheres into so much closer contact with each other, led the Germans to think that they could dominate this globe.

"There is good reason to suppose that the German menace in its acute form will soon be at an end; but every year the world grows narrower; every year the interests of Canada expand; every year our destinies become more inextricably interwoven with forces and agencies which are at work outside our borders in the world at large.

"In speaking thus, I am not defending any paradox. I am simply stating in words what is a matter of common knowledge. Platitude rather than paradox. But what use is it to face the throes of momentous, epoch-making fact unless we learn the lessons which it teaches?

"Speaking in terms of Canada, we are now confronted by new problems which go to the very bottom of our civil life. During the closing years of the last century we formed a portion of the British Empire, which then centred unmistakably at London; whose policy in foreign affairs sought doubtless to serve our interests, but which was directed under a system which gave us no opportunity to impress our views directly

through representatives enjoying equal status with representatives of the other portions of the Empire. To-day, as a result of the great war, we have ceased to be a portion of the British Empire, and have become a partner in the British Commonwealth. London is still the political centre, and doubtless will remain such for a long time. But the fundamental conception is now that of partnership in matters of common concern, coincidental with full autonomy in matters of domestic concern.

"The stage of the Crown colony was outgrown before Confederation, years before Confederation. We have now outgrown the stage of a sheltered Dominion. If we have not attained the stage of full manhood in politics, we are rapidly reaching it.

"Now, these transformations, however inevitable, do not take place easily or without disturbance of spirit on the part of some. The Dominions have often been called daughter nations, and, adopting for a moment a figure of speech which emphasizes the beginning, I would recall Longfellow's lines about the maiden:

"Standing with reluctant feet,
Where the brook and river meet,
Womanhood and childhood fleet!"

"Now, it is often true—it is true of our past—that we feel reluctant to take these momentous steps which are dictated alike by reason and by our deepest and truest emotions. Yet we do take them, and must take them. Afterwards, having pursued the line indicated by reason and duty, we look back in amazement and wonder why we should ever have hesitated.

"Precise example of what I mean is afforded by Christopher Dunkin's speech in the pre-confederation debates, a long speech of Dunkin, which, I think, occupied about three or four days. This was an able speech by an able man, who gave it as his unhesitating judgment that the Provinces ought to remain separate. But, with the most complete recognition of Dunkin's mentality, that speech makes singular reading in the year 1917. And so those of us who believe that the British Empire should be further consolidated would base our argument from those who shrank from altering our present status. They and we like are loyal to the British connection in some form or other. That is the indisputable feeling of all Canadians, save for the small minority of persons who, in every community, always take the off side.

"But when it comes to defining the nature of the connection; when it comes to determining the closeness of the tie,

a difference of opinion arises. Now, manifestly, under present circumstances, these things ought to be thought out and discussed. The war is drawing towards its close, and we shall enter an area of reconstruction. With all that we have at stake, both for ourselves and our children, let us not treat this issue casually or lightheartedly. The question which we are now considering is one that exacts from every citizen in this country as deep and careful thought as he is capable of giving to any question. Looking at the subject in the broadest possible way, the British Empire is so great a force in the world for good and for stability that every possible effort should be made to strengthen it.

"Prior to the war, the Germans had persuaded themselves that the British Empire was a colossus with feet of clay; they also talked about Germany being Rome and Britain being Carthage. How utterly mistaken they were regarding the spirit of the British unity they now know, and everybody knows, from the most ocular demonstration. But, while the British Empire possesses enormous resources and abundant vitality, it is not well organized. We have achieved extraordinary, almost superhuman, results in this world war, but we have achieved them at unnecessary cost. There has been a great deal of lost motion. There has been wastefulness, which could not have been avoided under the circumstances, simply because so many things were at loose ends when the war began. The Germans may have been over-organized; we certainly were under-organized. And, in speaking thus, I do not refer merely to military equipment or to experience in the art of waging war. We have also suffered from lack of political tidiness, and from the failure to look at our interests as a whole. To rectify this difficulty is to strengthen the British Commonwealth as a world-wide agency which is acting for freedom, for fair play and, at the same time, for stability.

"Furthermore, if the British communities do not draw still closer together in politics, they become relatively weaker than they are at present. For there is no standing still. If we drift, others profit immediately by our aimlessness, by whatever is nebulous or vague in our attitude towards the vast problems by which we are surrounded. What effect, for instance, will the Panama Canal have upon the life of the world during the next 50 years? Are not the conditions which will arise from this new fact fit to be considered from the standpoint of the British communities as a whole, rather than by each of them separate and in isolation? What about the prob-

lem of advance in an age when scientific discovery advances at such a pace that a warship costing \$10,000,000 may have deteriorated 50 per cent. in effective value before it is finished? As Joffre kept telling the French for two and a half years before the war, a modern nation which is unprepared is courting destruction, and will be destroyed. I take this phrase from warfare and apply it to politics, with all the economic consequences which follow from political conditions. The only guarantee of safety in the age ahead will be clear thinking, alertness, vigilance and willingness to make those sacrifices of thought and effort which are expected from progressive nations to-day.

"These are all arguments for closer co-operation between the different branches of the British family. Unless we are to go around in the vicious circle of increasing armament and catastrophic wars, there must be co-operation in good faith amongst all communities of the world, both great and small. And I have noticed this evening, everyone who has spoken has used and reiterated the term co-operation. But, politically speaking, that is the millenium, and the millenium comes slowly. Meanwhile it is for us to apply the principle of still closer co-operation to the various communities which go to make up the British Commonwealth. Let us press and expect co-operation as a general principle, but let our co-operation begin at home. The alternative is to throw away, at least, in its full value, the British tradition. Naturally, no race can pose as a paragon, but, viewing mankind broadly, the British tradition is so immensely valuable to those who participate in it, and to millions of others, that any failure to strengthen it, uphold it, extend it and ennoble it still further would be criminal. There have been many descriptions of what the British spirit means to the world, but none, I think, so noble as that given by Burke in his memorable speech on Conciliation with America. This is what he says:

"My hold of the colonies is in the close affection which grows from common names, from kindred blood, from similar privileges, and equal protection. These are ties, which, though light as air, are as strong as links of iron. Let the colonies always keep the idea of their own civil rights associated with your government—they will cling and grapple to you; and no force under heaven will be of power to tear them from their allegiance. But let it be once understood that your government may be one thing, and their privileges another; that these two things may exist without any mutual relation; the cement

is gone, the cohesion is loosened, and everything hastens to decay and dissolution. As long as you have the wisdom to keep the sovereign authority of this country as the sanctuary of liberty, the sacred temple of our common faith, wherever the chosen race and sons of England worship freedom, they will turn their faces towards you. The more they multiply, the more friends you will have; the more ardently they love liberty, the more perfect will be their obedience. Slavery they can have anywhere. It is a weed that grows in every soil. They may have it from Spain; they may have it from Prussia. But until you become lost to all feeling of your true interest and your natural dignity, freedom they can have from none but you. This is the commodity of price, of which you have the monopoly. This is the true act of navigation, which binds to you the commerce of the colonies, and through them secures to you the wealth of the world. Deny them this participation of freedom, and you break that sole bond, which originally made, and must still preserve, the unity of the Empire. Do not entertain so weak an imagination as that your registers and your bonds, your affidavits and your sufferances, your packets and your clearances, are what form the great securities of your commerce. Do not dream that your letters of office, and your instructions, and your suspending clauses are the things that hold together the great contexture of this mysterious whole. These things do not make for government. Dead instruments, passive tools, as they are, it is the spirit of the English communion that gives all their life and efficacy to them. It is the spirit of the English Constitution, which infused through the mighty mass, pervades, feeds, unites, invigorates, vivifies every part of the Empire, even down to the minutest member."

"So far good. In working out these ideals there have been blunders and shortcomings on the whole. The standard remains throughout, and it is for us to-day to strengthen that force for good in the world rather than to weaken it.

"I shall not attempt to make an argument as to the forms which closer co-operation among the members of the British Commonwealth should take. As I appreciate it, the object of this meeting is to emphasize and enforce the necessity of a non-party conference, or, at least, that is one of the objects, I think, of this meeting. We are not here to debate the text of a new constitution. At this stage the urgent thing is to spread the idea that there should be after the war a meeting

of representative men from all over the Empire to consider how the British Commonwealth can be made stronger and more effective than it has been in the past.

"The subject of foreign policy will come up at once, and connected therewith, the question of a body for defence. Those taking part in such a conference would, of course, be careful not to go too fast. The most elementary prudence would be to safeguard against the adoption of a revolutionary program. But all who did take part in such a work would be aided by two principles: First, that the British tradition, as a force in world politics, is so beneficent that it must be perpetuated by the unflagging effort of those communities who now live under the British flag. Secondly, that under present world conditions, the maintenance of the British tradition must mean closer unity and closer co-operation than have existed in the past. When reiterating the words British Empire and British Commonwealth, one must not overlook the fact that the lands now under British sway contain many inhabitants who are not of British origin. Within its vast domain, which embraces so many different latitudes and longitudes, are many whose ancestors came from Continental Europe rather than from the British Isles, and who owe their place in the British Empire to-day to the fortunes of war as it befell in former ages. Problems arising from this source must be faced, together with that other large issue which is presented by the future of India.

"Again, this is no place for the consideration of details; but this I would say: In politics, no less than in personal relations, mistakes are often made from trusting people too little. I have quoted from Burke already. On the same memorable occasion he declared:

"Magnanimity in politics is not seldom the truest wisdom; and a great empire and little minds go ill together."

"It is magnanimity rather than pettiness which should govern the relations of different nations inside the British Empire, and also the relation of the self-governing portions thereof to the dependencies.

"And, finally, one word to those who look upon the future consolidation of the British Empire as impracticable. I am willing to admit that certain Imperial experiments of the past have proved a failure; for instance, the Holy Roman Empire and the Germanic nation; the Spanish Empire of Philip II. and Phillip III. and Phillip IV., and the Empire of Napoleon Bonaparte. But the case of the British Commonwealth is categorically different from any of those, unlike them all. The Holy Roman Empire failed because it ran counter to the theo-

cratic claim of the Papacy, to the forces of feudalism in both Germany and Italy; to the ambition of the Italian towns and to the vast mountain barrier of the Alps. The Spanish Empire failed because it rested upon stupid, jarring and inveterate habits of meddling and an insane disregard of finance. The Napoleonic Empire failed because Europe would not submit to the will of a single man. The British Commonwealth, on the other hand, represents a practical project which draws its strength from the instinct of freedom, from the devoted attachment of its members to the British tradition, from the respect which each of the partners feels for its associates, and from the mutual confidence which has been so lately strengthened by the great War.

"There are in every community bears as well as wolves; cheerful pessimists as well as chastened optimists. But however valuable free indispensable criticism may be, we live at a time when our relations to the other members of the British Empire should be approached in a constructive spirit. I have quoted twice from Burke; let me conclude by referring to a passage from Milton, which is equally famous and equally appropriate:

"'Methinks I see in my mind a noble and puissant nation rousing herself like a strong man after sleep, and shaking her invincible locks. Methinks I see her as an eagle mewing her mighty youth, and kindling her undazzled eyes at the full mid-day beam; purging and unsealing her long-abused sight at the fountain itself of heavenly radiance; while the whole noise of timorous and flocking birds, with those also that love the twilight, fluttering about, amazed at what she means, in their envious gabble would prognosticate a year of sects and schisms.'"

"This is not a time for multiplying either sects schisms, but rather for drawing inspiration from the British tradition at its best, as one of the great forces in the world—a force well tested and not found wanting. a force which makes for freedom, fair play and justice. To say that an object is unattainable is often to confess one's poverty of soul. For the greatness of every age is to be measured by what it succeeds in redeeming from the void of the uninhabitable, from the void of what to the faint-hearted seems uninhabitable. And in working for the greatness, glory and continuity of the British Commonwealth we are helping to honor by a fitting memorial its sons and our brothers who have ungrudgingly given their lives on its behalf in this war. So that should be our thought at all times—at first and at the last. The better world which is to be created by this war will not belong to us who may hope to enjoy it, but to our heroes who have given their lives for it."

Anyone who wishes either
to join or to form a Round
Table Group is invited to
communicate with the
Secretary, The Round Table,
84 St. Mary Street,
Toronto, who will furnish
all necessary information.



